1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

even competing with the Arabs for the inland trade.[1] At some uncertain date there were two migratory movements away from the original home of the Yao. The first was a scattering from Hill Yao to surrounding hills, possibly due to internal dissension.[2] The next movement was caused by an attack of the Makua between 1830 and 1870.[3] One party moved northward, finally settling in Tanganyika, as has been mentioned. Four parties moved south into Nyasaland.

(a) *Achisi Yao*, who first moved from Mwembe to Michisi hill, and then to Nyasaland, where they are represented by those under Katoli Native Authority.

(b) *Amasaninga Yao*, who first moved to Limninga hill, near the Lutwisi river, and then to the south-east of Lake Nyasa, where their descendants are now under Makanjira Native Authority.

(c) *Amangoche Yao*, first went to settle at Mangoche, near Fort Johnston. They were later driven out of Mangoche, by the last group, and scattered.

(d) *Amachinga Yao*, first went to the vicinity of Mandimba hill, near the source of the Lujenda river. They were routed from this fertile valley by the attacks of the Lomwe, and came into Nyasaland in four parties.

One party of Machinga Yao under Nkata (later called Jalasi, or Zarafi) attacked the Yao at Mangoche, drove them south and themselves finally settled there. Another party under Ntumala came with Nkata as far as Mangoche, then turned off to Chisui hill in the Fort Johnston area. A third group, under Malemia and Mtumanja, moved down to the Domasi valley via Isale hill, where they were attacked by the fourth Machinga group, under Kawinga. The latter had also accompanied Nkata's party as far as Mangoche, then crossed the Shire river to the west; here they were attacked by the Maseko Ngoni under Chidiamga and moved south-east to Chikala, which they occupied until defeated by the British. Liwonde, the brother of Kawinga, moved to the Shire river.

The Amangoche Yao, after they had been scattered by the Amachinga, settled some in the Chiunda part of Dedza district, some at Mount Zomba, some migrated to Ndirande hill near Blantyre, some to Soche hill, some to Chiradzulu, Ngolodi, Malawi, and Nkhoda hills. These Amangoche Yao constitute about half the Yao population in Nyasaland.[4]

The Yao invasion of Nyasaland was not an organized military expedition, like that of the Ngoni. The first immigrants came peacefully in small kinship groups. They took advantage of Nyanja factions to consolidate their position, until, by 1876, when the Church of Scotland Mission was established at Blantyre, the Yao were a ruling class dominating the earlier inhabitants.[5] At the same time they vigorously carried on their slaving activities. In 1893 Thompson noted that the fertile country of the watershed between the Rio and the Shire rivers was uninhabited because of Yao raids.[6]

The Yao of Nyasaland suffered from Ngoni raids, but were never subject to them. Several tributes have been paid to their soldierly qualities,[7] and indeed it took five years from 1891, when the Protectorate was declared, before the Yao were subdued and the slave trade, to which they had been principal parties with the Arabs, sup-

[1] Rowley, 1872, p. 37.
[2] Henkel, 1912, p. 3; Murray, 1930.
[3] Historical notes in unpublished administrative papers.
[4] Du Plessis, 1929, pp. 298 and 300.
[5] Blantyre, 1877, p. 12, and Stigand, 1913.
[6] Abdallah, 1919.
[7] Thompson, 1882, p. 99.

1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT? Yao FT?

passed. Two contingents of Sikhs were sent unsuccessfully to take Kawinga's fortress in Chikala in 1894; Makanjira was defeated in 1894, Kawinga, Jalasi, Matipwiri, and Tambala in 1898.[1] They were later allowed to return, but they were not recognized as chiefs by the Administration.

The end of tribal wars and of slave-raids made large defensive settlements unnecessary, and the peace saw the splitting up of communities, which rendered the task of the Administration more difficult. The abolition of domestic slavery, by reducing the power of headmen, further contributed to the tendency to live in small scattered settlements. In 1912 the Nyasaland District Administration Ordinance was passed with the object of concentrating the villages into larger communities.

The first movement of Yao from Portuguese East Africa to Mussuc took place about the end of the 1830's. According to one account they were originally expelled from the territory between Mataka's and Undi by the Maseko Ngoni.[2] Then the Makua attacked them, breaking up the tribe still more, so that they migrated north to Mussuc, the south-west of the Makonde plateau, and the banks of the lower Rovuma. At Mussuc they were again attacked by Ngoni, but defeated them, and then retired to the Makonde plateau, where they were again attacked by Ngoni. There is a tradition that at some time after 1830 the region was toured by an emissary of the Sultan of Zanzibar, 'Bakisi', who gave the whole country to Matola, a Yao chief, to rule from Newala. In the area between Mussuc and the Rovuma river the Yao are in a majority and politically supreme over their neighbours the Makonde, Makua, Ngindo, Matambwe, and Ndendeule.[3] At Mtua, on the Makonde plateau, there is a settlement of Yao who were rescued from the Ngoni on the east shore of Lake Nyasa by Captain Engelhardt, and transferred there. These in outward appearance could hardly be distinguished from the Swahili of the coast.[4]

DEMOGRAPHY

The Yao population of Nyasaland has increased steadily but its relation to the total population has not increased:

1911		1931		1945	
Yao population	Percentage of total population	Yao population	Percentage of total population	Yao population	Percentage of total population
183,563	15·2	298,213	15·2	380,177	13·72

Even in the predominantly Yao areas the population is not homogeneous, either tribally or linguistically. In the three areas in which there are a large number of Yao (Kawinga and Liwonde of Zomba district and Nyambi of Fort Johnston), they represent roughly 48·6, 35, and 33 per cent. of the total population, the next most important section being Nguru (Lomwe) immigrants from Portuguese East Africa.[5] Some Nguru call themselves Yao when questioned.

The density in these areas is respectively 63·5, 32, and 32 per square mile.[6] This

[1] Cullingham, 1898, p. 300; Maughan, n. 1902, pp. 86, 100-6, 130-3; Salaun, 1899, p. 200.
[2] Livingstone, 1874, p. 70. [3] Weule, 1909, pp. 108-98.
[4] Bliss, p. 28. [5] Mitchell and Cannon, 1926, 1931, and 1945.
[6] 1945 Census.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

chiefs. Mpumbe's village, which in 1947 was about 2½ miles from Kawinga's court village Nanyumbu, was originally one of Jalasi's adherents. Mpumbe fled with many others when the British attacked Mangoche in 1896. He went to the place where Lake Amaramba spills into the Lujenda River in Portuguese East Africa. When things seemed more peaceful, Mpumbe did not return to Jalasi's area, but preferred to seek his son Ngongondo, who had fled with a section of the village to Kawinga's area. He found Ngongondo at approximately the present site of the village, and settled with him. Ngongondo later moved eastwards to his present home in the Liwonde area. Both village headmen have achieved a certain amount of prestige in their new chiefdoms. Mpumbe was once a court assessor of Kawinga, and now holds girls' initiation rights. They have lost all touch with their former chief and are most unlikely to return to him.

A considerable number of Kawinga's villages moved into Mpeza's and Chamba's areas, when they returned to the Protectorate. Their descendants to-day say that they did so because the soil was better in those areas than in Kawinga's.

Shortly after the British expedition, i.e. between 1896 and 1900, the Portuguese Government launched a punitive campaign against the Africans along the Portuguese-Nyasaland boundary. Many thousands of refugees came pouring into the Protectorate. Most of these were Mpezeni and Ngoni. The great majority settled where they crossed the boundary, i.e. round Chiuta, and Ngokwe chiefdom arose from some of them. After the Portuguese campaigns ended many other migrants came into the area. All those questioned gave Portuguese ill-treatment as the reason for their coming across.

During the first decade of the century the movement, as in the initial invasion, was predominantly south-westwards—from Lake Chiuta towards the Shire River and Highlands. Now, however, the movement is gradual. The first movement of a group may bring it just within the boundary. Then the next movement may take it to the south and west deeper into Nyasaland. Some of my village case histories show this. Table III sets out some movements within Kawinga-Liwonde area (except Chiwalo).[1] I asked about the place of origin of all the villages

[1] I use Kawinga-Liwonde area to include the chiefdoms Kawinga, Liwonde, Mpeza, Chamba, Ngokwe, Chikweo and Chiwalo.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

The Characteristics of the Three Categories of Headmen

In Table V I have set out the ethnic affiliation of the headmen in the three categories and also the dates of arrival of Newcomers in the Kawinga-Liwonde area. This table shows that

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TABLE V

Numbers of Village Headmen who are Aborigines, Invaders and Newcomers

Tribes	Aborigines	Invaders*	Newcomers							Total
			Pre-White	White Conquest—1917	1918–27	1928–37	1938–47	1948–47	Unrecorded	
Yao . . .	—	144	19	60	20	14	13	13	35	318
Mpezeni . .	—	53	—	43	21	9	1	1	—	128
Ngoni . .	—	5	2	46	58	40	27	14	17	218
Nyanja . .	25	3	1	4	6	1	1	4	1	46
Unrecorded .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6
Total . . .	25	205	22	153	105	73	42	32	59	716

* In Ngokwe area, 39 villages are classified as Invaders who came into Nyasaland as refugees from the Portuguese military actions at the close of the nineteenth century.

easily the great majority of villages has come into the area since the White conquest. On the other hand, only 3·5 per cent are Aborigines. Just over a quarter (28·6 per cent) are direct descendants of the original Invaders or headmen of villages which have branched off from these. The remainder (67·9 per cent) are the Newcomers who have submitted themselves to the Invaders. Far more Newcomers came in during the decade following the White conquest than in any of the more recent decades.[1] We cannot argue directly from these figures that the greatest influx of Newcomers into Nyasaland took place before World War I. Newcomers in the more recent decades may be as numerous but may be passing out of the area more quickly, and therefore are not recorded in my survey. On the other

[1] Ngoni immigration in 1918–27 was due to exceptional causes.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

623 543 167 hand, all villages tend to disappear in time. We should therefore expect more of the headmen who came in during the earlier decades to be forgotten, and the trend should be more pronounced than it is. In fact we know from other sources that immigration of the Nguru, who represent about one-half of the Newcomers, was greatest before 1930, and it is almost certain that the figures do reflect the change in the amount of Nguru immigration, and that the factors which may operate against the trend are not important. As a whole the set of figures suggests that immigration is slowly coming to an end.

622 543 The Aborigines are all Nyanja. Among the Invaders, 70·2 per cent are Yao, 23·9 per cent are Mpotola, and the remainder 3·9 per cent are Nyanja and Nguru. The Mpotola Invaders are practically all in the Ngokwe and Chikweo areas, so that in the other areas (i.e. in Liwonde, Kawinga, Chamba and Mpasa) the Yao represent 94·9 per cent of the Invaders; the remainder are Mpotola. Under Ngokwe and Chikweo who are Mpotola chieftains, 54·5 per cent (48 of 88) of the Invaders are Mpotola, and 37·5 per cent are Yao, and the remaining 8·0 per cent are Nyanja and Nguru. Among the 486 Newcomers, 35·8 per cent of the headmen are Yao, 15·4 per cent Mpotola, 43·8 per cent Nguru and 4·9 per cent are mainly Nyanja. In general, therefore, we may say that the Aborigines are all Nyanja; the Invaders are Yao in the *major* area and Mpotola in the other area; and the Newcomers are predominantly Nguru from Portuguese East Africa, though there is a fair proportion of Yao who have come from other Nyasaland districts.

622 795 797 There are significant differences among the three categories of headmen in their religious affiliations. In general there are more Moslems (71·8 per cent) among all headmen than Christians or Pagans. But there are more Moslems among the Invaders than among either the Aborigines or the Newcomers.[1] There are more Pagans among the Newcomers, but the proportion of Christians among the Aborigines and the Newcomers is about equal (25·0 per cent and 21·9 per cent). These differences in religious affiliations are consistent with the different historical backgrounds of the two groups. The Invaders are the descendants of the Yao slavers, who in the past had been in intimate

[1] Invaders = 92·1 per cent; Others = 63·9 per cent; Diff. of per cent = 27·2; S.E. of diff. = 3·7; C.R. = 7·2; $p < 0.0001$.

3: Stanmore D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

That these several sections of the Wayao differ in many respects may be seen by comparing the Amanguruhe of *Africana*[1] with the Amachinga of this article. I am not sufficiently conversant with the Amanguruhe to make a definite statement on this point but I am inclined to believe that after longer residence and wider knowledge, Mawhinney would have found that some of his statements needed revision. Those whom he considered the "Yao proper" but whom I prefer to speak of as the Amanguruhe seem to have a considerable admixture of Anyanja, since their language contains many Chinyanja words and many of their customs are practically those of the Anyanja. I am of the opinion that the Amachinga may be regarded as more typical of the Wayao, and except where ambiguity might arise, I shall speak of them as the Yao.

The original home of this Bantu speaking people is uncertain; in historic times all the sections of the Wayao were originally grouped in that part of Portuguese East Africa around the hill called Chiuo, whence they probably derived their name, *Wa Chiuo* or *Wa Yao*. About the middle of the nineteenth century, as the result of inroads by neighbouring tribes of Akale from the southwest, and raids by the Makwangwala, a branch of the Angoni of Zulu origin, from the northwest, disruption of the Yao people occurred, and the divisions mentioned above, moved toward Nyasaland. The Mamanga branch settled for the most part along the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa but a sub-section known as Tawhasi Yao reached the west side of the lake. The Machinga made a settlement near Lake Chiuta under a number of old chiefs, including Malemya (Malemamkoo), Kawinga, Chiwindi, Kalimbuka, and Mwalo.

The descents of the Makwangwala again caused the Wayao to move on from Chiuta to Nyasinga on the Mkoko stream. Here Malemya suffered another defeat at the hands of the Angoni; many of his people were driven off and taken to the neighboring Angoni country where they were held in captivity for some time. Finally they were restored by the enterprise of one of Malemya's old men, Kalonguda, who went alone to the Angoni, saying that he wished to live with them and with his own brethren. One day, he asked the Angoni if they would like to see their captive dance, and when they assented, he called the Yao together, and clapping his hands to keep time, he began to sing one of their dance songs. Gradually he gathered all the Yao into the village open space, dancing and singing. Then, keeping to the same air, he told them why he had come, using their own language which the Angoni did not understand. "Malemya, our chief, remains at the Mkoko stream. It is not for all. We must all join him again. Now dance for joy. If anyone does not return them, it is his own fault." Then, a few at a time, the dancers left the crowd and stole away into the bush and, as night came on, they all made off and reached Malemya's camp in safety.

Malemya's people were again attacked by the Angoni, and on this occasion they defeated their enemies. The Angoni retreated and skirting Zomba mountain, reached the third

[1] Mawhinney, op. cit.

River at Mpindé where they intended to settle. Here, an old chief, knowing that their presence would cause trouble, persuaded them by talos of many cattle far away on the other side of the river, to cross over, and there they remained.

Kavinga and Mukenya, then, to avoid further raids from the north went down to the Upper Shiré River near Lake Pamalombe, Kavinga going to Mvera, while Mukenya stayed on the east side of the river among the Anyanja, obtaining friendship with them because they bore many of the same clan names. Later, Mukenya moved up to the highlands about fifteen miles north of what is now Zomba, and Kavinga went to Chikala. Mukenya was friendly with the Anyanja chief, Chanyani, who was of his clan, and was therefore able to buy from him for a red blanket all the country from the Likwenu stream to the Namadzi River, a district thirty to forty miles long. There the people settled.

Kavinga was once again attacked by the Makwangwala from the north, but beat them back, after which they returned to the country whence they came — German East Africa near Lake Nyasa. The Angoni chief was killed in this battle, and the story goes that two Yao captives were told off to carry the eviscerated body back to the Angoni country for burial. As they were not provided with food for the journey, the two men began to eat the corpse. After several days, this was discovered; one of the men was killed but the other escaped to tell the tale. These were barbarous days, and the Yao relate that after raiding a village, the Angoni would leave a pot cooking on the fire with the body of a child in it, well covered with leaves, so that when they had gone away with their booty and the villagers who had taken refuge in the forest returned hungry, they would start eating the leaves and then come upon the body of the child, and having eaten of the juices of a human body, they would have committed a terrible sin.

The immigration of the Amankhinga into the country around Mangoche mountain caused the Amangoche Yao settled there to move. They passed into the Blantyre and Mlanje districts, and invaded the country of the Anyanja. The chief, Mukenya, known as Nakotumbo died about 1880, and was succeeded by his nephew, a sister's son, according to the Yao customs. This nephew, Wanchalama, then took the name of Mukenya.

In consequence of this succession there was considerable bad feeling between Wanchalama and the other aspirant to the chiefdom, his cousin, Kanonja. The latter moved down to the plain below Zomba mountain to the south, where he gathered about him a band of friends and malcontents. Mukenya decided to attack him and with this purpose sent two messengers, Wiwajiti and Mayembela, asking Chikusi and his Angoni to come and do the job for him. Led by Nyamoka, Njewendi, and Kalanji, the Angoni came from the Shiré River opposite Blantyre, via Mulanje. They attacked and routed Kanonja who, owing to the thick country, managed to fall back with most of his people toward Lake Chilwa. Here he was received by his cousin, Chinembo, a son of Nakotumbo, and father of my interpreter, Chesuga, who ruled among the Anyanja. Afterwards, he moved to Mpindé on the Shiré where he built a stockaded village.

* Died July 14, 1915.

3:Stanner D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

After the defeat of Kumtaja, Chikusi and his Angoni routed Kumtumanja, a brother of Malemya, who had also been making a nuisance of himself. Kumtumanja, who suffered from a large hydrocoele, is supposed to have lost his balance on account of this impediment, and fallen into a stream where he had stopped to drink and to have been drowned.

The Angoni still burned for more warfare, and Malemya, fearing that with his work done, they might prove a nuisance to him, turned them on to the Amasogocho Yao around Jimanyo. Thither they set off on a raiding expedition and returned to their own country via Chirudzulu. This raid took place in 1886.

During the next few years, Kawinga, who had always held a grudge against Malemya for having got ahead of him to the best country, occupied the chief with raiding and warfare. In 1891, Wanjalaweu died, and was succeeded by Chimala, the son of his sister, Chiligero, and at the present time, he is the reigning Malemya.

It is of these Amachinga Yao under Malemya that the following notes are written. I have gone at some length into the history of these people in order to disarm criticism by those who, familiar with other sections of the Wayao, may not agree with all my statements.

Life History. Generally speaking, the life of the Yao native in the old days was full of men spiced with the excitement of intertribal warfare. He cultivated his crops, kept a few goats and chickens, and relieved the monotony by hunting. Even domestic slavery was not a great hardship, nor did the Yao probably suffer from much slave-raiding to the same extent as many other tribes. As children, they are wont to spend their days free from care, seldom reprimanded, and rarely or never physically chastised. During youth, the more easy lot is theirs, with the addition from time to time of a few small tasks; minor household duties for the girls, such as drawing water, sweeping the hut, and "minding" the baby, while the boys low or bleat and carry for their fathers in the village or in the bush. Left to their own devices, they play games,[1] dig out rats' nests, or shoot birds with bows and arrows.

Now, as formerly, when they are about five years old, the girls usually go to live with their grandmother who may thus have a number of children around her; or several girls of a somewhat more advanced age may sleep together in a hut dormitory. Boys of this age all live in a big hut called *ngumbo ja akubanda*, "the boys' dormitory." This is their quarters until one by one they leave to get married. The girl, similarly, remains in the girls' dormitory or with her grandmother until she is taken in marriage.

Puberty. The first interruption of this placid life of youth is the onset of puberty or the first initiation ceremonies.[2] Formerly, these ceremonies took place after puberty but of late years, as is pointed out elsewhere, they are performed much earlier.

Child betrothal. Betrothal in childhood or before birth is not uncommon. A woman learning that some friend of hers is pregnant will arrange that if a girl is born, her son will marry the friend's daughter, or a man taking a fancy to a little girl will admit her as his

[1] Vide infra, p. 335. [2] Vide infra, p. 344.

6: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

They are semi-subsistence cultivators who own no cattle and whose diet is therefore largely vegetarian, viz. sorghum and maize-meal with ground-nuts and beans and certain leaves together with a small quantity of cassava roots.

Marriages are contracted early in life with little difficulty and ceremony. Formerly girls were espoused as mere children, and this still happens, but whether the custom is falling away or not I could not check quantitatively because the memories of the old women who had been married as children forty or fifty years ago could not be relied upon. Table I shows the ages at first marriage for a sample of 121 married women for whom this information was available.

Where marriage takes place so early we can expect that the mean age when child-bearing commences will also be early. Table II shows the median age of mothers at the birth of their first child.

TABLE II. *Age of Mother at Birth of First child*

Present age-groups of mothers	*Age of mother at birth of first child*									*Total*	*Median age at birth of first child*
	10½–15	*15–17*	*17½–20*	*20–22½*	*22½–25*	*25–27½*	*27½–30*	*30–32½*	*Over 32½*		
Under 30	9	16	14	17	6	4	..	..	..	74	17·9
30–45	10	14	10	9	4	7	3	4	3	66	19·8
Over 45	1	7	9	9	3	6	1	3	1	46	20·6
Totals	20	37	33	35	13	17	6	7	4	186	19·3

From these two tables it is clear that nearly all women in the community are married early and that child-bearing commences very soon after marriage.

Table III shows the conjugal status of all women over the age of 15.

TABLE III. *Conjugal Status of all Women over the Age of 15*

Present age groups	*Have married*	*Wives of*			*Divorcees*	*Widows*	*Total*
		Monogamists	*Polygamists*	*Labour migrants*			
Under 20	20	15	3	4	..	..	42
20–30	3	27	18	9	9	3	79
30–45	1	31	19	3	9	3	70
Over 45	..	14	10	1	11	16	52
Total	27	87	50	19	29	24	246

Here we see that of all women under 45 (194), 141 (73 per cent.) are married, though only 83 (43 per cent.), i.e. the wives of monogynists, have their husbands living permanently with them. Another 40 (20 per cent.) were married to men who were married to other wives, so that while their husbands were not living with them permanently they were nevertheless with them periodically. Eighteen other women (9 per cent.) were married to men who had left to work outside the area and hence were not living with their wives at all at the time of the survey. Visits by men to places of work outside the area may last 2 years or more. It should

8:Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949
FT7 Yao FT7
[P.142A]

II. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE
Before the Whites came

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It is difficult to picture what the political organization of the Yao was like before the Whites came into the area, but informants—especially the old men—do describe the conditions that existed in the early days, and in addition to this, there are some useful reports in Duff Macdonald's book[1] which was written before European influence was strongly felt.

Informants describe the movements of the Yao into Nyasaland in terms of small family groups under the leadership of a male matrilineal relative.[2] These leaders bear the same names as certain of the village headmen to-day, and the present village headmen claim to be their matrilineal descendants. Among the kin-group leaders were such outstanding personalities as Kawinga, Liwonde and Nkata.[3] These men were military and commercial leaders and much of their prestige derived from their prowess in trade and war, pursuits which in those days were intimately interdependent. People nowadays describe the chiefs as possessing many slaves, guns and gunpowder and having great "strength". In the history of the chiefs Nkata, Liwonde and Kawinga the pattern of conquest is similar. A group of village headmen under each chief moved into Nyasaland to settle either by treaty as Nkata who settled with a clan-relative among the indigenous Nyanja, or by direct conquest as Kawinga. After settling down they started sending out forces to subdue local chiefs until the boundary of the territory of some other powerful chief, usually another Yao, was reached. When this happened a definite territory was agreed upon by the two chiefs. Within this territory the population was increased by immigration from other areas or by slavery. Village headmen moved from a less to a more powerful chief because of the security he offered them. They were said to "seize the leg"

II. The Political Structure
BEFORE THE WHITES CAME

173 643 167 (*kukamula lukongolo*), i.e. to surrender to the chief in the area. Also the chief sent out expeditions to capture slaves or he purchased slaves with the cloth and beads he had exchanged for ivory at the East coast.

643 421 Within his territory certain privileges and rights were held by the chief and he had certain religious duties to perform in which the unity of the people in the territory was expressed. In general the chief had rights over any ivory either found or hunted in his territory. If a dead elephant were found the tusks belonged to the chief, though he usually rewarded the finder with cloth. [224] If a man killed an elephant the tusk that lay on the ground belonged to the chief while the other [439] belonged to the killer. The killer's tusk was included in the chief's caravan to the coast and its value paid in cloth to the killer when the caravan returned.

643 657 The chief was also entitled to an annual tribute of food and beer from all villages in his area, but this was used to entertain visitors who came to the court-village.

643 782 The chief's religious duties lay mainly in propitiating the spirits of his ancestors on occasions when the community at large, in contrast to the chief's own private affairs, was either threatened or directly affected. The most obvious occasion was immediately before the rains came when flour was poured on the tree shrine and the spirits of the ancestors asked for good rains. Later when the rains were over a similar sacrifice was made asking for a good harvest. Sacrifices to the ancestors were also made on two other public occasions. They were made when some calamity had occurred or was believed to be impending. A run of unsuccessful campaigns induced Cingwalugwalu, a son of the Yao chief Mponda near Fort Johnston, to ask his father's father's brother to make sacri-